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NEGOTIATIONS SEEM LIKELY

Moscow is seeking to pull U.S. back from brink in Laos

By Kumar Goshal

THE OMINOUS SITUATION concerning Laos was relieved somewhat on March 27 when Moscow sought to pull Washington back from a new venture in brinkmanship. On that day an official-sounding article in **Pravda** generally endorsed the March 23 British proposal for a cease-fire in Laos and the convening of a 14-power conference to bring peace to that unhappy country. The article appeared even as a SEATO conference was convening in Bangkok.

Pravda said it was glad to note that Britain agreed with what the Soviet Union had often proposed. It restated the Soviet position that Premier Souvanna Phouma still headed the legal Laotian government and that U.S.-supported Prince Boun Oum was leading a revolt "inspired from abroad." **Pravda** warned against SEATO intervention in Laos thus:

"Peace-loving states will not remain indifferent to plans for intervention in Laos. The use of force against the people of Laos will meet countering force."

THE LAWFUL RULERS: If "interested countries" show a willingness to negotiate and do nothing to aggravate the situation, **Pravda** said, it would not be difficult to reach an agreement on Laos. But it called for U.S. renunciation of the use of Thailand as a base to supply Boun Oum's forces and the immediate withdrawal of American military advisers from Laos. In addition, **Pravda** said, the international conference must "help restore peace in Laos on a basis that would be acceptable to the lawful government, the national-patriotic forces [Pathet Lao] and other political forces of Laos."

Without absolving the U.S. of provoking the Laotian crisis, **Pravda** nevertheless welcomed "the statement of the President that the U.S. wants peace in Laos

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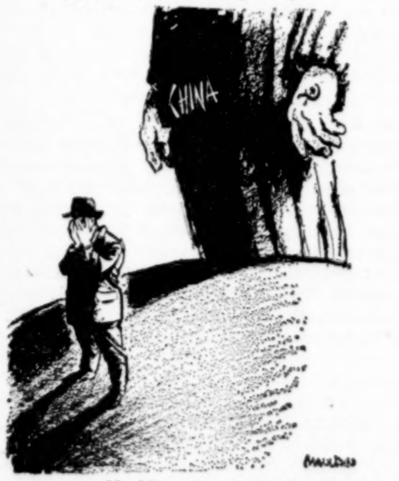

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dspatch
"Hasn't it gone yet?"

WALK FOR PEACE
CNVA

THEY'RE PUTTING THE BEST FOOT FORWARD FOR PEACE AND WORLD SAFETY
Some of the 16 hikers on the San Francisco-Moscow walk pause in Litchfield, Ill., to rest those weary dogs. From left to right: Mardy Rich, Newton, Kan.; Regina Fischer (mother of chess whiz Bobby Fischer), Brooklyn, N.Y.; Jerry Lehman, Mokena, Ill.; Barton Stone, Tallahassee, Fla.; Bea Burnette, Chicago. The walk is being sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Action. For what you can do Easter weekend, see p. 5.

JFK MEETS WITH NEW CABINET-LEVEL COMMITTEE

Wage curb seen as goal of advisory group

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

A NEW FACET of the New Frontier was revealed March 21 when President Kennedy met with his 21-member Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy. The President told his new committee that its purpose is "to give direction to the general movement of wages and prices so that the general welfare of this country can be served."

It is apparent that the Labor-Management group is to have a cold war significance beyond the usual wage-price question. The President arranged to have the committee briefed on the "serious problems" of national security and foreign trade. Labor Secy. Arthur Goldberg and Commerce Secy. Luther Hodges will alternate as the committee's chairman. Other cabinet members participating included Vice President Lyndon Johnson, Defense Secy. Robert S. McNamara, Treasury Secy. Douglas Dillon, as well as Under Secy. of State Chester Bowles (who substituted for Secy. of State Dean Rusk) and Dr. Walter W. Heller, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. The President opened the six-hour meeting and returned to its discussions later. The committee is scheduled to meet again April 3 and on the succeeding first Mondays of each month.

RESTRAINTS ON UNIONS: Kennedy announced his intention to establish this committee in his economic message on Feb. 2 and said it would seek "a sound wage and price" policy: "We cannot afford unsound wage and price movements which push up costs, weaken our international competitive position, restrict job opportunities, and jeopardize the health of the economy." He also requested the committee to give attention to the problem of unemployment and automation.

The real implication of the "sound wage and price" drive is to impose re-

(Continued on Page 5)

WHY IS THE PRESS BLACKING OUT THIS CASE?

The strange murder trial of Francisco Molina

By Joanne Grant

A MAN IS ON TRIAL for his life in New York's General Sessions Court in a case with international complications. Yet his trial has been virtually ignored by the U.S. press although the incident which led up to the trial—the fatal shooting of a nine-year-old Venezuelan girl in New York last September—was splashed across the front pages.

On Sept. 21 Magdalena Urdaneta was shot during a fight between pro- and anti-Castro Cubans in the El Prado restaurant on Eighth Avenue between 51st and 52d Sts. The shooting occurred in an atmosphere of high tension in the opening days of the UN General Assembly, attended by many heads of government including Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro. The press had helped to charge the atmosphere—particularly around Castro and Soviet Premier Khrushchev. Members of anti-Castro groups had been flown in from Miami to picket the UN and the Hotel Theresa, where Castro was staying.

HOW IT BEGAN: On the morning of Sept. 21, three days after Castro's arrival in New York, Walter Winchell warned in his column in the New York **Mirror**: "If you are a pro-Castro stay off Eighth Avenue in the 50's." At around 3 p.m. that afternoon the fight broke out in the El Prado that resulted in the death of the girl and the shooting of one of the participants, Louis Rodriguez. The fight had started after five men wearing buttons which read, "Khrushchev and Castro not wanted," entered the restaurant known to be a favorite of Castro supporters.

On Sept. 22 Lincoln White, State Dept. press officer, issued a statement which the New York **Herald Tribune** carried Sept. 23 under the headline: "Restaurant Killing of Girl Blamed on Castro Fac-

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

Lumumba's death

THRUMS, B.C.

May I dare say that the death of Lumumba parallels the Nazi atrocities from which the world has not yet recovered?

I raise my voice in protest and say: White man, repent before it is too late (if it is not so already). Yours for justice, truth and human dignity.

Pete P. Maloff

Sense of justice

GREENSBURG, PA.

Had I been in the gallery that day of the disturbance in the UN, I feel sure I would have joined it in spite of my age. For it really seems that we are hopefully awaiting news of reprisals, for buck-passing purposes. As to propaganda, did those victims **ask** to be killed? And may not Mr. Khrushchev, even, have a sense of justice that demands emphatic expression? I think he is right, for one.

J. R. Keister

Backward Barry

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

"Fraternity Ban Called Aid to Reds" was the headline over a recent item in the Los Angeles **Mirror.** It referred to a speech made by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) in which he charged: "Where (social) fraternities are not allowed (on campus), communism flourishes."

I was never very hep on Russian history but I strongly doubt that the banning of the Eta Bowla Borsht fraternity on the Minsk University campus because the boys held a playful droshky raid on the neighboring sorority house, of itself, led to the storming of the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg.

On the other hand, the French Revolution (Barry Goldwater to the contrary nothwithstanding) was not only pro-fraternity, but also pro-liberty and pro-equality. What is more, the sans-culotte boys did not engage in panty raids, per se.

Carrying his thesis further, the Prophet of the Backward Look not only equated anti-fraternity with communism, but contrariwise, pro-fraternity with democracy. Further, he lumped communism with socialism, with left-wing philosophies and with faithlessness. This lumping of anything to the left of the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy is technically known as lumpen proletariat.

In this area of Goldwatery sentiment, Harvard seems to epitomize all that is bad in non-fraternity thought. And to think that a Harvard man now has a four-year lease on the White House and will be surrounded by a legion of Harvyardians!

Having disposed of John F. Kennedy's alma mater, Backward Barry added: "We look more and more to fraternities to provide our future leadership."

I can just picture the ebullient Arizonian poised on his charger, sword in hand, under his other arm the skull of the Neanderthal man, on his sweatshirt the legend "McKinleyism" and flanked behind him, ready to do battle, the panty-raiders with captured garter-belts hanging from their spears, the fish-swallowers peering into their fish-bowls, and the telephone booth squeeze-inners holding their collective breaths.

Not too long ago during a fraternity hazing a pledge was reported to have choked on a piece of raw liver. Perhaps he just choked on a Barry Goldwater polemic. **Hickok M. Moon**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

TOKYO, March 5, (AP) — Police arrested a 31-year-old laborer and accused him of trying to start a fire in the Russian embassy in Tokyo today. They said Hajima Taniguchi threw a burning rag into the embassy garage but failed to cause a fire. Police quoted him as saying he did it because he was told by a friend that if he did an anti-communist act it would cure him of his ailing stomach.

—Chicago **Tribune,** March 5

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: T. K., Tampa, Fla.

'The Paper Wall'

CYNWYD, PA.

There aren't many novels which touch the reader's conscience at a sensitive place so much as Ira Morris' **Paper Wall** does. The reviews, so far as I have read them, have displayed, not the book itself, but the mountainous guilts of the reviewers. And it is all because Morris' hero, a university professor, is himself destroyed by inward guilt over peaching on a friend.

From their collision with Morris' book the reviewers emerge much damaged. This isn't exactly an esthetic result, but it is a highly interesting moral one. What I want to ask you is, how did it happen that your reviewer, when faced with this same challenge, vanished into a textbook commentary on the "rules" for writing novels?

I'd be sorry if any reader of the GUARDIAN failed to read **The Paper Wall.**

Barrows Dunham

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

Ruth Mahoney, in her review, has grossly misconceived the content, the purpose and the esthetic values of **The Paper Wall.** The book deals with one of the great themes of our time—the problem, namely, how a man, particularly an educator, shall maintain his personal integrity against the threat of punishment and the lure of fame. This theme in itself ennobles the novelist who accepts it, and, by accepting it, Ira Morris has joined the struggle where the struggle is. He deserves our thanks, not marginal comments in the style of a freshman course in composition.

Eve Merriam, Sylvia Crane, Robt. Ross, Alene Mufson, Michael and **Dorothy Uris**

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

May I enter a vigorous dissent to the review? The most serious distortion lies in the reviewer's handling of the central theme of the book, namely that there are certain democratic standards that must not be eroded. Mr. Morris has focused on American problems through the prism of Japanese society. By this deft and original method he has illuminated both countries, enhanced interest and given depth to his scenes. May I suggest that GUARDIAN readers get this fine novel and judge it for themselves.

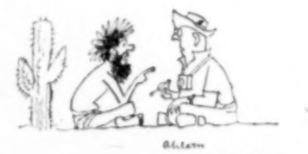
Carl Marzani

Phrase-coiners wanted

OMAHA, NEB.

The **World Herald** here calls me a "prodigious" collector (and coiner) of epigrams. Now I am working on a book of same, to be illustrated, and need your best—especially having to do with the atomic and missile age (the age that can wither). Prizes will be awarded for the best.

Harry G. Mendelson
4304 California St.



Anthony Ahearn

"For inner peace you've got to withdraw from the world, as I did."

Kennedy's mistake

NEW YORK, N.Y.

President Kennedy made one of his first mistakes by announcing that he agreed with Gov. Muñoz Marin of Puerto Rico to make that island "a meeting place and workshop" for the U.S. and its Latin American neighbors for solving mutual problems and planning "great achievements."

Muñoz Marin is considered in Latin America as a stooge of American imperialism.

In any case, who is Muñoz Marin to give counsel to the Kennedy Administration when he has been unable to cut unemployment in his own Island? There are 300,000 chronically unemployed in Puerto Rico and as many as 1,000,000 have been compelled to migrate to the U.S. because they have no future there.

As long as the U.S. keeps the Puerto Rican Nationalist leader, Albizu Campos, and many others in American and Puerto Rican prisons, there will be strong criticism in Latin America against Washington. Albizu Campos—and not Muñoz Marin—is the real leader of Puerto Rico before the eyes of Latin Americans, Asians and Africans.

Roque A. Gonzalez

More refined

MANISTEE, MICH.

The GUARDIAN is getting more refined as time goes along. In my estimation all good union members should read your splendid magazine, as its policy is to get as near the truth as is possible.

American workers are still following the dark side of political action, instead of placing themselves in the front ranks, free from the corrupt and false promises of politicians.

John M. Smejkal

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE BIG SHOW starts April 10, when the Un-American Activities Committee will start questioning some 40 Hollywood actors, writers, directors on their "subversive activities." The curtain-raiser came on March 21 when Larry Parks (The Jolson Story), Gale Sondergaard (first winner of an Academy Oscar) and Howard da Silva (Lost Week End) took the stand. Sondergaard and da Silva refused to answer questions on the constitutional grounds that they could not be forced to incriminate themselves . . .

Parks talked. He said he had "drifted" into the Communist Party in 1941, "drifted" out in 1945. He begged the committee to spare him from becoming a stool-pigeon, but finally behind closed doors named "about a dozen" of his associates as Communists, according to a committee spokesman. **Variety,** show business journal, reported that this resulted in issuance of ten new subpenas. When it was over, Parks went to New York and took to his bed, "sick of heart and sick," according to his attorney. In Hollywood Mrs. Parks (Betty Garrett) was also ordered to bed by her doctor.

—From National Guardian, April 4, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Our man in Laos

THEY SAY President Kennedy's favorite book is **Melbourne**, the current courtly biography of an early 19th Century British prime minister and confidant of the girl queen, Victoria. If we might suggest a more immediate and far more fascinating work for JFK's rocking-chair reading at this particular moment in the 20th Century, it would be **Mekong Upstream,** by a world correspondent who knows more about Southeast Asia, and Laos in particular, than all the West's SEATO connivers put together. That the author happens to be Wilfred G. Burchett, now the GUARDIAN's correspondent in Moscow, is only incidental to this report. (Another incidental bit of information, to ward off mail orders from readers, is that **Mekong Upstream** is not available in U.S. bookstores, to our knowledge. Our copy, a paperback, came from the publishers, Seven Seas Books, Berlin W 8, Glinkastrasse 13-15. Price, about $1.25).

Laos was a familiar part of Burchett's stamping ground while he was a correspondent in Asia for many years for Australian papers and the London **Times.** He visited there three times following his tour of duty as correspondent with the North Korean forces in the Korean War, but he met Prince Souphanouvong, leader of the Pathet Lao forces, deep in the Cambodian jungle just before the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1953.

Burchett's account of his travels along the mighty Mekong River, from its mouth in the Gulf of Siam to its headquarters in the mountains of Laos, was completed in mid-1957, then brought up to date in October, 1959, after he had brought his family to live in Moscow. It is a masterful job of reporting and appreciation of the peoples of Cambodia and Laos, and we can only hope that some enterprising bookseller will import the book.

OF PARTICULARLY TIMELY INTEREST in Burchett's work is the story of U.S. maneuvering to nullify the Geneva agreements ending the "dirty" war in Indo-China and setting up Cambodia and Laos as independent countries. In Laos, the Pathet Lao forces agreed to withdraw to the two northern provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua in return for free elections in 1958 under an international Commission of India, Canada and Poland.

There was little doubt that Pathet Lao would fare well in the elections for a united Laotian government (see Kumar Goshal's story in this issue) hence John Foster Dulles and SEATO demanded, in return for U.S. dollar aid, that the Royal Laotian Army wipe out the Pathet Lao forces in the two northern provinces. Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma, brother of the Pathet Lao leader, Souphanouvong, objected, and so did the president of the national assembly and the minister of defense. In September, 1954, the president of the national assembly was assassinated and the minister of defense jailed as the assassin. Souvanna Phouma resigned in the resulting cabinet crisis. Three out—and Dulles-SEATO had won the first inning.

The Dulles-SEATO candidate even then for ruler of Laos was opium-rich Boun Oum, brother-in-law of the U.S. catspaw, Katay, who succeeded Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister in 1955. In March of that year Dulles dropped in on Katay in Vientiane and by April, the Royal Army began its effort to occupy the two Pathet Lao provinces. ("By an odd coincidence [Burchett comments] reminiscent of what happened in Korea in June 1950 a few days after Dulles visited the South Korean front lines . . .")

SO ENDED the cease-fire after Dien Bien Phu. The International Commission worked feverishly to bring about direct talks between Souphanouvong and Katay in Rangoon, and a new cease-fire agreement was reached. The following day, the Royal Army moved anew against the Pathet Lao provinces, U.S. transports dropping paratroops into the mountainous country.

By mid-December, 1955, 34 attacks had been launched but, as Burchett observes, "the same Boy Scout tactics and blind refusal to accept political realities" which prevailed at Dien Bien Phu got similar results. The Royal Army was in the two provinces, alright, but perched on the mountain tops ("Like the unfortunate hunter [Burchett writes] up on a tree and unable to get down because of the tiger at the bottom.") Six infantry battalions, one parachute company and 15 companies of commandos sat on a total of 35 mountain peaks, unable to move or link up. When they finally gave up and stumbled down the mountains under white flags, one group commander growled at his captors:

"Where were you? We have been looking for you for days past!"

AS WE SAY, **Mekong Upstream** might prove more useful reading than Melbourne to a man bent on a new cease-fire against the Pathet Lao.

—THE GUARDIAN

THEY PICKET AS THEY GO

A log of the San Francisco to Moscow Walk for Peace

WALK for PEACE
KITTERY MAINE Naval Shipyard TO UNITED NATIONS
WHO LIVES THE MISSILE SHALL DIE By the MISSILE
REFUSE TO WORK IN WAR INDUSTRIES
THOU SHALT NOT KILL

THIS GROUP IS WALKING FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE TO NEW YORK
They began their trek with a protest against a new atomic submarine

The San Francisco to Moscow Walk for Peace was scheduled to arrive in Chicago March 29 after having traveled 3,000 miles. The walkers, sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA), advocate unilateral disarmament and nonviolence. They have expressed the intention of "picketing every war plant and military installation all the way to Moscow." A log is being kept of the journey by a different walker each day. Here are excerpts:

LOS ANGELES, DEC. 28—Dr. Linus Pauling walked a couple of miles with us and spoke at our rally . . . Martha Schlamme sang. Today is our first day of "rest" since leaving San Francisco so we picketed the Federal Building where a draft non-registrant is being arraigned. Tonight a Christmas party at actor Don Murray's and a meeting with a student group.

REDLANDS, CALIF., DEC. 27—We picketed Norton Air Force Base and Grand Rocket Co. In San Gabriel we stayed with the Rev. Ashton Jones, pacifist minister who has been jailed and beaten in the South for promoting integration.

PEORIA, ARIZ., JAN. 7—We are scheduled to picket two Air Force bases and three defense plants and are to appear at Phoenix College and Arizona State in the next three days. Today Burton (Stone) and I (Jerry Lehmann) had lunch with an old widow at her little shack alone in the desert. She speaks only Spanish and told us of her mesquite trees turning orange and the leaves appearing to be blistered after the Nevada atomic tests. We are now more than 700 miles out and on entering Phoenix will have come 600,000 steps for peace.

CASA GRANDE, ARIZ., JAN. 12—On the way we were joined by John Beecher and his wife and they walked to the end of the day. We were stopped by a man from a radio station who asked a few words of us. Beecher gave us all a shock by saying on the radio he was an instructor at the State Univ. of Arizona and was resigning to join the walk . . . suppose it will be a shocker to the University as well.

TUCSON, ARIZ., JAN. 15—Vigil with local people at Davis Monthan Air Force Base. Thirty-five or so participated, including ten "Children of Light who were sent by the Lord down from Canada to help us get peace." The women wore white dresses, stockings, shoes, blue jackets, and three vests "chosen by the Lord to represent repentance, the blood of Jesus and holiness." The men wore white trousers, shoes and blue jackets. Jerry Wheeler left the walk to commit civil disobedience at the air base and was arrested.

ALAMAGORDO, N.M., JAN. 30—Last night Julius (Jacobs) preached at a Negro Baptist Church . . . Two high school girls from Los Angeles drove 900 miles to join us on their semester break. We are being run out of town by the organized efforts of local patriots. Local police chief circulated a letter warning people not to have anything to do with us . . . We are vigiling for 24 hours today near the site of the first A-bomb test.

BENT, N.M., FEB. 1—The El Paso **Times-Herald** published a UPI story from Albuquerque yesterday saying the FBI denies asking media in this area not to print stories on us. They must have done so "unofficially" and someone in UPI got mad enough to call them on it. We spent the night at 6,900 feet above sea level. Conversed today with Robert Geronimo, 73-year-old son of the great Apache chief.

PIMA COUNTY JAIL, ARIZ., FEB. 3—I was found guilty and sentenced to six months . . . You are in my heart and I can only hope to deserve your brotherhood—Jerry Wheeler.

ROSWELL, N.M., FEB. 4—There is no question that this town had received, prior to our arrival, a most thorough going-over by the FBI and the Air Force to harden it to our message . . . According to local sources, the FBI sent a letter to Walker Air Force Base giving names and supposed evidence of our direct contact with communist groups. Directives were sent out to the radio stations, the TV station and the paper condemning us and suggesting a "hands off" policy. The ministers in the Ministers' Alliance were invited to the Air Force Base for dinner and . . . were told what their attitude towards us should be. Among other things, it was suggested that any person showing interest or concern in us should have his name turned in to the Air Force Base . . . The end product of all this was no meetings, no hospitality, no interviews, NO, NO NO . . . The 12-year-old son of a Walker Air Force Base chaplain told Scott (Herrick): "If it wasn't for the Strategic Air Command there wouldn't be a God because the Russians would come and take him away from us."

UMBARGER, TEXAS, FEB. 11—Yesterday we passed the quarter-way point with 1,625 miles behind us. Last night we camped out on the side of Buffalo Lake. A beautiful lake and a perfect sunrise. We even heard coyotes.

AMARILLO, TEXAS, FEB. 13—A small group of us picketed and distributed leaflets in front of three different recruiting offices. Late in the afternoon they were taken into protective custody by police who feared the large number of men in town from Amarillo Air Force Base would start a riot.

PAMPA, TEXAS, FEB. 14—We were shown a city ordinance forbidding passing out leaflets, but Don (Fortenberry) talked to police chief and city manager showing them ACLU advisory letter to the walk and said we were anxious to have cordial relations but not at the expense of our constitutional rights. They let us leaflet.

MIAMI, TEXAS, FEB. 15—We are 18 now and beginning to look like a small nonviolent army. The food was excellent due to the "cook war" between Dave Rike and Allan Hoffman.

HIGGINS, TEXAS, FEB. 17—The Quaker wife of the town bank president told us the postmaster had told her and others CNVA was on the list of subversive organizations, so John Beecher went to see him. Poor man was terrified and said it was a "misunderstanding." Suppose he wanted to make sensational news and never figured he'd be called on it.

WAYNOKA, OKLA., FEB. 19—During lunch, a car drove by and a cherry bomb (a kind of firecracker) was thrown at us. Two minutes later, they came back and threw four more and shouted "Dirty communists go home!" We went back on the road and walked into Seiling. We were met by a man named Chet Hayes who went down the wide street in broad daylight to come over and shake hands with us and tell us we could use his house. He had specially come down to meet us. He belongs to the Railroad Brotherhood of the AFL-CIO maintenance workers.

WAYNOKA, OKLA., FEB. 20—Mr. Hayes went to police and told them he put us up and if they didn't like it they could lump it. He also said he didn't like the stories they were spreading about us. About 25 high school boys came over and we had several hours' conversation in Hayes' garage. Started walking and Susan Hoffman asked Don Fortenberry for a chaw of his plug of tobacco. She was sick by lunchtime and didn't recover until the next day.

ALVA, OKLA., FEB. 21—We camped at a railroad overpass about a mile north of here. Immediately people began coming to talk to us. There were several ministers who were interested but did not feel we were "safe" enough to take in. Many students came. By the time we finished supper, cars were parked lining both sides of the highway. What a scene. More cars continued to arrive. Our fleet of odd-looking vehicles (including a donated hearse and a small foreign car) were parked around the green and orange tent by the camp fire; guitars and singing; foodboxes, lanterns and paraphernalia strewn around. A crowd of fraternity boys parked up on the hill gathered in a band with torches. One had a bugle. They walked yelling and jeering down to the camp and became part of the crowd. There were about 100 people, mostly students from Northwestern State Teachers College, gathered around the fire. Many more came by. The last ones didn't leave until 2:30 a.m.

CONCORDIA, MO., MARCH 9—Allan (Hoffman) got us all in jail. We were told we were being lodged in the City Hall. This was true but it was in the basement which turned out to be a comical little prison. It consisted of four cells. The whole place just couldn't be taken seriously. It was fun.

MARSHALL, MO., MARCH 10—Our meeting tonight was interrupted by unorganized waves of local kids interested in what was going on. They came in packs, howling and yelling outside. I (Millie Gilbertson) went out and herded them in, a pack at a time. They are still here—50 of them aged 14 to 17—broken into small groups talking with the walkers.

Information about CNVA may be obtained from New York headquarters at 158 Grand St. Contributions are needed to keep the Walk going to Moscow.

END THE MISSILE RACE
LET MANKIND LIVE
Let Us Walk TOGETHER SO MA
MAY

THE CROSS-COUNTRY GROUP IN ARIZONA WHERE ONE WAS SENTENCED TO 6 MONTHS FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
Julius Jacobs of New York carries the first sign, Bradford Lyttle, secretary of the CNVA, the second one

THE BERKELEY FIGHT FOR ABOLITION

Wilkinson draws record crowd on campus

THE TRADITION of freedom of speech and students' spirit of inquiry triumphed over red-baiters at the University of California at Berkeley March 22 when Frank Wilkinson, field secretary of the Natl. Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, spoke to an overflow crowd of 5,000 on the campus.

The day before his scheduled appearance 300 high school and college students (none from UC) and adults from the Bay Area had staged a protest on the Capitol steps at Sacramento seeking to bar Wilkinson's talk. Protesters arrived in a 35-car caravan led by a San Francisco minister, Rev. Curtis R. Nims.. Placards read: "Red Fascists go home to Khrushchev," and "Hoover Yes, Wilkinson No."

Those who defended Wilkinson's right to speak included Gov. Pat Brown, who said: "This country has become great because we let everybody speak their piece . . . if they violate the law, if they urge revolution by force or violence, then we can put them in jail. But to ban them before we know what they're going to say is a very serious mistake."

DANGEROUS GROUND: Brown held a 40-minute conference with Nims and other protesters and refused to cancel the speech. He said. "I don't believe in prior censorship of the press or movies or speakers . . . I don't know to whom we can delegate the right to determine who shall speak . . . I couldn't delegate that to myself . . . You are moving from one danger to another by censoring people. I think you are on dangerous ground."

Dr. Clark Kerr, University chancellor, said in a Charter Day address March 20: "Freedom of thought and expression has not died at the University of California; nor despite the currently rising passions of the radical left and the radical right, will it die."

The student council executive commended Brown for his "unequivocal endorsement of the concept of the University as stated by its president and for the confidence he has expressed in the integrity of university students."

Kerr said: "The University is not engaged in making ideas safe for students. It is engaged in making students safe for ideas."

On the other side was the president of the State Senate, Hugh M. Burns, (D-Fresno) who predicted that Slate, the campus political group which sponsored Wilkinson's talk, would lose its campus rights. Burns is chairman of the State Senate Un-American Activities Committee.

RECORD CROWD: There was no incident during Wilkinson's appearance. During his speech there was frequent applause, but no heckling. He was cheered when he said his principles could best be served by not answering a question on Communist Party membership "until such time as the courts declare such questions, under compulsion, to be unconstitutional."

Referring to student demonstrations in San Francisco last May against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Wilkinson said: "The charge that I led or incited the riot or had anything to do with the magnificent student demonstration last year is an absolute lie." He was interrupted by applause at the word "magnificent."

A University spokesman said he could not remember any speaker drawing such an overflow crowd. Typical answer from students asked why they had come was: "I read they tried to stop him from speaking and I just don't go for that."

FRANK WILKINSON
He was cheered by students

Wilkinson faces a year in prison for refusing to answer questions of HUAC at hearings in 1958 on First Amendment grounds. A petition for rehearing by the Supreme Court has been submitted.

The Molina trial

(Continued from Page 1)

tion by State Dept." White said:

"This Venezuelan girl was the innocent victim of an aggressive attack yesterday by adherents of the Castro regime in a public restaurant. This kind of criminal activity that resulted in the ruthless slaying of an innocent bystander will undoubtedly shock people throughout the free world."

CASTRO COMMENTS: The FBI announced a nationwide alert on Sept. 26 in a hunt for Francisco Molina del Rio who the FBI said was known to anti-Castro forces as head of a "goon squad" of Castro followers. The FBI described him as a former member of the Cuban police and a "known marijuana peddler . . . quick-tempered and ready to fight at the slightest provocation."

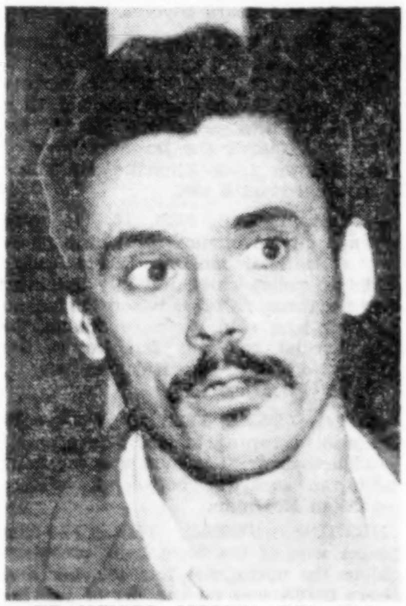
The State Dept. sent condolences to the Urdaneta family and to the Venezuelan government. Castro in his speech at the UN General Assembly referred to the "lamentable event" as one which was "provoked by those who feel themselves supported by the systematic campaigns against Cuba and with the connivance of the authorities."

On Oct. 14 Francisco Molina was taken into custody amidst press hoopla which dubbed him "the Hook." He sometimes wears a mechanical device in place of his right hand which was amputated in 1955 after an industrial accident.

NO POSTPONEMENT: For the next 11 days he was not able to consult with his counsel because the Dept. of Correction would not allow his lawyers, Samuel A. Neuburger and Andrew R. Tyler, to bring an interpreter of their choice. Nor was he permitted a conference with his lawyers before his arraignment before magistrate Evelyn Richman.

Molina was indicted on Oct. 19 and his trial on a charge of first degree murder was set for March 7. Neuburger asked for a postponement for six months because of the "prejudicial climate" established by newspaper reports of the incident and the arrest, and because of attempts to make anti-Castro propaganda out of the case.

In addition, the defense said, two material witnesses were in Cuba. The postponement was denied by Judge Mitchell Schweitzer. The defense asked for a commission to take testimony from the absent witnesses but the prosecutor, Asst. District Attorney Alexander Herman, refused to make the trip. The defense obtained a guarantee of immunity from indictment for the two witnesses to come to New York to appear for the defense.



FRANCISCO MOLINA DEL RIO
An inspired prosecution?

NO NEGROES ALLOWED: The trial opened March 15 before Judge Schweitzer and a special "blue ribbon" jury—all-white and all-male, with no jurors or alternates of Spanish-speaking origin. Eighteen Negroes, two women and one prospective juror of Latin American descent out of a panel of 250 were challenged by the prosecution and rejected. The defense moved to strike the entire panel and the judge ruled that the trial proceed concurrently with the argument for dismissal of the jury. After several days of trial the judge dismissed the challenge to the jury and denied a defense motion for a mistrial on the grounds that due process was being denied.

Some legal experts characterized the trial as an inspired prosecution. They noted especially the make-up of the jury and the charge of first degree murder. Circumstances of the incident which involved at least 15 persons called for a charge of manslaughter at most, they said, and the prosecution of more than one person. One other participant was held on a charge of felonious assault, but his hearing, scheduled for Oct. 9, has been postponed.

MIAMI INVOLVED: The trial broke into the press briefly on March 24 when it was learned that a Federal agency had asked that the judge disallow questions concerning anti-Castro activities in Miami. Two days earlier, in an on-the-record colloquy between counsel and the judge, the prosecutor said: "An agency of the Federal Government has requested me to convey to your Honor that no questions be permitted of this or other witnesses with reference to activities, about which I know nothing of my own knowledge, but which concern certain activities in the Miami area, aside from what this witness has testified so far . . ."

Defense counsel Neuburger said that questions must be allowed which attack the credibility of witnesses by showing that they had engaged in "violent activities so would stop at no lengths to do harm to a political adversary, including the use by him and his associates of arms, perjury and any other form." He cited U.S. Supreme Court decisions which had said that when information which might endanger national security might be revealed in a trial, it might be wiser for the prosecution to be terminated. The judge said that he would not limit cross-examination except at the point at which "discretion is vested in a court." Following the discussion, witnesses relied on the Fifth Amendment to avoid answering questions concerning military activity of anti-Castro groups in Miami.

CIA INVOLVED? The Committee for Defense of Francisco Molina charged that the Federal agency in question is the Central Intelligence Agency. The Committee also said that the CIA had been involved in the transportation of armed anti-Castro demonstrators from Miami to New York during the UN General Assembly meetings last September.

Except for a New York **Times** story on this last point, the U.S. press has virtually ignored the trial. The UPI and AP have sent daily reports to Latin American outlets. (UPI stories characterized Molina as an "alleged Castro secret agent and strongman.") **La Prensa** and **El Diario**, New York Spanish-language dailies,. also have had daily articles. **Prensa Latina**, Latin American wire service, has provided coverage for Cuba, where interest is reported to be high and a Molina defense committee has been formed.

Courtroom speculation was that word had gone out to the publishers that coverage of the trial would in some way hurt "national security."

DON'T WORRY: During the trial, the 28-year-old Molina has sat calmly listening. Occasionally he asked through an interpreter if witnesses would speak louder; occasionally he glanced at members of his family of four sisters and two brothers sitting in the audience of the crowded court room. Sometimes Molina's chair would be moved so that he might see the elaborate chart of the El Prado restuarant.

Two witnesses in their testimony demonstrated the intensity with which the District Attorney's office seeks a conviction. One, Rosa Morales, said that prosecutor Herman had told her not to worry about a narcotics conviction for which she was to be sentenced after her testimony in the Molina trial.

Another witness, Nelson Alvarez, admitted during cross-examination that an assistant district attorney had given him a week in which to revise his testimony concerning the use of a chain in the fight by the anti-Castro group. Alvarez said he was threatened with deportation.

RALLY APRIL 1: There were reports also of pressure on the Venezuelan government from the district attorney's office to get the family of the dead girl to testify for the prosecution. Thus far the response is reported to be that the father, Raphael Urdaneta, wants nothing to do with the trial and is "finished with New York."

The Committee for Defense of Francisco Molina views a fair trial as impossible, with an imposing array of powerful forces lined up against Molina. They cite the New York police, the district attorney, the FBI, the CIA, the State Dept. and the press.

The committee has scheduled a rally, to inform the public and to raise funds, for Saturday, April 1, at 1 p.m. at the Royal Manor, 157th St. and Broadway. Members of the Molina family will be among the speakers. The committee's address is room 832, 154 Nassau St., WO 2-2264.

What you can do for Peace on the Easter week end

COLD WAR-WEARY PERSONS in several U.S. cities were to celebrate Easter on April 1 and 2 with peace marches and rallies, inspired by the famed Aldermaston marches in England. In some places the demonstrations were the joint efforts of various peace groups; elsewhere there were to be separate actions. These are some scheduled for the East and Midwest:

NEW YORK: Three hundred persons from the New York, New Jersey and Student SANE committees set out March 25 from McGuire Air Force Base in Wrightstown, N.J., on a march scheduled to arrive in New York April 1. At 9 a.m. on April 1 they were to be met by others at 181st St. and Ft. Washington Ave. for a march to the United Nations. At 11 a.m. the march was scheduled to pass Columbia U., 120th St. between Amsterdam Ave. and Broadway; at 1 p.m., Columbus Circle; at 2 p.m. Bryant Park, 42nd St. and Sixth Ave.; at 2:30 p.m., United Nations Plaza.

A rally was to be held at the UN starting at 3 p.m.

The peace walk of the New England Committee for Nonviolent Action also was to reach New York on April 1. A week end of activities was scheduled under the joint auspices of various pacifist groups—CNVA, Fellowship of Reconcilation, War Resisters League and Student Peace Union—and with the cooperation of the 100 Days for Peace Committee. At 9 a.m. on April 1 a walk was to begin at Dyre Ave. and 223rd St.; at noon it was to reach 174th St. and Boston Post Rd., Bronx; at 2 p.m., 145th St. and Lenox Ave. A rally on "Integration, Not Disintegration" was to be held at 3:30 p.m. at 124th St. and Fifth Ave.

The walk was to resume at 9:40 a.m. April 2 at 124th St. and Fifth Ave.; at noon it was to reach 86th St. and Fifth Ave. A rally was to be held at 3 p.m. at 33rd St. and Park Ave. As the marchers passed the U.S. and Soviet UN missions, they were to present disarmament petitions.

In its first public demonstration since World War II, the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) was to hold a 40-hour vigil around the Armed Forces recruiting station in Times Square from 4 p.m. on March 31 to sunrise on Easter Sunday. The vigil was to be followed by a meeting for worship. Members of the vigil were to stand silent and motionless before the station in two-hour relays.

WASHINGTON: Following a vigil at the germ warfare base at Fort Detrick in Frederick, Md., earlier in the week, a vigil was to be held at the Pentagon from 7 to 10:30 a.m. on April 1. The demonstrators were to walk to Judiciary Square for a rally at noon. The demonstrations, called Witness for Peace, are sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, SANE, Vigil At Fort Detrick and the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom.

BOSTON: Act for Peace 1961 was to culminate activities with a walk on April 1. The line of march was: 8 a.m., start at Lexington Common; 9 a.m., Follen Community Church, 755 Massachusetts Ave., Lexington; 10 a.m., Unitarian Church, 630 Massachusetts Ave., Arlington; 11 a.m., Massachusetts Ave. and Alewife Brook Pkwy., Cambridge; noon, lunch at Harvard-Epworth Methodist Church, 1551 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge; 2 p.m., Massachusetts and Commonwealth Aves., Boston. A rally was to be held at Faneuil Hall in Boston, at 3 p.m.

Sponsors include American Friends Service Committee, SANE, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom.

CHICAGO: Two walks—one from Great Lakes Naval Training Station, the other around Ground Zero, a four-mile area in the heart of Chicago which would be destroyed if a bomb dropped—were to converge on Chicago's Loop at noon on April 1. A rally was to be held at Hotel Morrison at 1:30 p.m. Dr. Harold Taylor, A. J. Muste and Homer Jack were to speak. Sponsors include American Friends Service Committee, SANE, Student Peace Union.

MILWAUKEE: A peace walk was to begin at 3 p.m. on April 1 at the Public Library, 8th and Wisconsin, and to end at the War Memorial Building. A rally was scheduled for 8 p.m. at Milwaukee Auditorium, 500 W. Kilbourn Ave. Dr. William C. Davidon, Homer Jack and Rev. Wayne Gourley were to speak. A film of the 1960 Aldermaston March was also scheduled.

Cooperating groups include SANE, Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom, United World Federalists, and American Assn. for the United Nations.

Curb on wages

(Continued from Page 1)

straints on wage demands by trade unions. Labor columnist Victor Riesel on March 9 predicted that the Labor-Management Committee means "the day of big and steady wage raises is over . . . Most of labor will go along and not make demands for a much fatter pay envelope. It is the wish of the President of the U.S. And Labor does not want to embarrass or impede this Administration . . ."

A BASIC CHANGE: The **Wall Street Journal** (Feb. 11) interpreted Kennedy's plan as aimed at altering "the inner working of the American economy in a basic way—by subordinating traditional market mechanisms for setting prices, and by superimposing the 'public will.'" It cited the approaching negotiations for a new collective bargaining contract in the auto industry as a clear example of how this will be applied:

"Government officials viewing this round of collective bargaining with a sense of national purpose consider it essential that they determine the final outcome; changes in labor costs and subsequent price adjustments cannot be left to United Auto Workers chieftain Walter Reuther and the motor executives . . . Since this round of auto negotiations must not end with customary results, the Kennedy Administration has decided they must not even be permitted to begin in the usual fashion. Government men intend to corral top management and union men in one room beforehand and tell them the outcome of their bargaining sessions; only the details will be left to private dickering and decision. And the government will be hovering over these, too . . ."

NOW CORPORATE SYNDICALISM...

KEEP WAGES DOWN: The economic theory behind the Administration approach is one much loved by employers—wage increases cause cost increases which cause price increases, therefore to prevent inflation wages must be held down. This basic approach is sweetened by including "prices" in the proposed restraint, but experience has demonstrated that the real impact of the "sound wage and price policy" is on the wage increase demands of organized labor.

The Administration aims to restrain wage increases without invoking direct controls. It would achieve this by vigorously asserting the "public" interest in wage disputes, both through the influence of the public members on the Labor-Management Policy Committee and through the acceptance by both labor and management members of the committee of the "public" policy in place of their own group's demands.

In essence this would mean that labor would forgo wage increases it would otherwise gain through collective bargaining. President Kennedy made clear that he intends to influence major settlements from the very outset, and not get into major strikes on an emergency basis. He told the committee: "With your help I intend to get a look at this situation before there is a crisis. I do not want the White House to have to come in at the last minute."

'THIRD FORCE': Many employers are of two minds on the whole scheme. They like the idea of wage restraints, but are wary of government interference. They are afraid of the possibility of total wage-price governmental control and of compulsory arbitration. The dominant AFL-CIO leadership — president George Meany, Auto-Workers president Walter Reuther, ILGWU president David Dubinsky, Steelworkers president David McDonald—have long been attracted by the idea of labor-management collaboration and government in the role of a "third force" applying the "public interest."

Many other unions and union leaders agree with James Hoffa and his Teamsters Union that the new committee is at best a "waste of time" and that its main purpose is to hold down wages. This would conflict with Hoffa's plan to extend to all areas the contract he just negotiated for 200,000 truck drivers in the Midwest, Southern and Southwestern states providing a 46c-package of wage and benefit increases over the next three years.

THE MEMBERS: The members of the Labor Management Committee beside Goldberg and Hodges are:

For the public—Ralph McGill, editor and publisher of the Atlanta **Constitution**; George W. Taylor, professor of Labor Relations, Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania; Clark Kerr, Chancellor of the University of California; Arthur F. Burns, chairman of the Natl. Bureau of Economic Research at New York and former chairman of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, and David Cole of Paterson, N.J., arbitrator and former head of the Federal Conciliation and Mediation Service.

For labor—George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO; Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto workers; David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU; George Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Thomas Kennedy, president of the United Mine Workers; David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers, and Joseph Keenan, secy.-treas. of the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

For management—Thomas Watson Jr., president of Intl. Business Machines Co.; Joseph Block, president of Inland Steel Corp.; Henry Ford 2d; J. Spencer Love, chairman of the board of Burlington Mills; John Franklin, president of United States Lines; Richard S. Reynolds Jr., president of Reynolds Aluminum Co., and Elliot Bell, editor and publisher of **Business Week** magazine.

'CORPORATE SYNDICALISM': In January, 1959, the Washington **Post's** labor reporter, Bernard D. Nessiter, observed "the faint outlines of a new politico-economic structure beginning to emerge . . . a kind of sophisticated collaboration between big business and big unions." He quoted John Blair, staff chief of the Senate Anti-Trust Committee, as labeling this movement "corporate syndicalism" and described Arthur Goldberg, then the AFL-CIO and Steelworkers lawyer and now Secretary of Labor, as its main exponent.

Whether President Kennedy's Labor-Management Policy Committee and its "sound wage and price policy with industrial peace" will fit the pattern of "corporate syndicalism" remains to be seen. So does the question whether the committee will be called upon to apply a cold war "austerity" program upon American labor.

NEW YORK

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THE REVOLUTION AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH—I

Cuba's hierarchy lacks a martyr

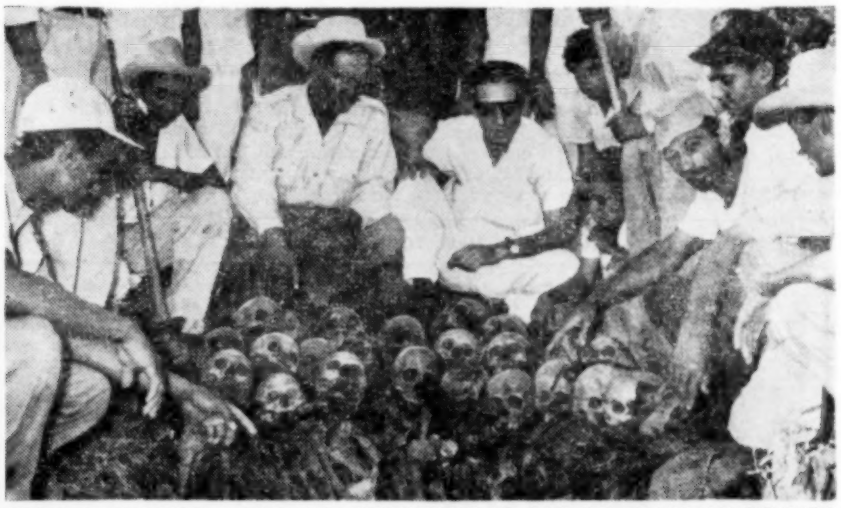
By Cedric Belfrage
(First of two articles)

HAVANA

EVER SINCE CUBA launched its sweeping nationalization program, the Roman Catholic hierarchy has striven by every means to provoke the government into an "attack on the Church." This corresponds with Washington's desperate need to "justify" aggression; and on the State Dept.'s and CIA's behalf the most gruesome U.S. hierarchs have been working overtime to provide crusaders' robes for the counterrevolution.

The Cuban government and people have shown patience with the cassocked provocateurs, but a bomb explosion Feb. 28 in a Havana private school—injuring or mutilating several girl students—has made the situation perilously combustible. No one doubts the complicity of some priests in the bomb incidents, and this was openly referred to in speeches at mass protest meetings, in the press and (in more forceful terms) by the general public. "Falangist clergy" were denounced, and editorialists suggested that the limits of excusable patience with them had been reached.

THESE ARE THE FACTS: Certainly it is time for decent U.S. citizens, of all faiths and of none, to equip themselves with some of the facts behind the propaganda. The facts that follow have been checked with, and in most cases obtained from, practicing Cuban Catholics.



CUBANS UNCOVER A 'PRIVATE CEMETERY' OF ONE OF BATISTA'S KILLERS
The hierarchy of the Catholic Church made no outcry against such outrages

In a typical article (Nov. 28, 1960) touching truth at few points, these were among the lies dished out by **Time**:

- Archbishop Pérez Serantes of Santiago (who has been issuing the most inflammatory Pastoral Letters against the government) now "leads the Church against Castro, as once he led it for Castro," having "acknowledged his original error" after "Castro turned from liberator to dictator."
- "A so-called Catholic organization called 'For the Cross and Fatherland' suddenly materialized last summer . . . sponsored and undoubtedly financed by the Castro regime." Prominent in this movement is Father Germán Lence, a parish priest "expelled from Santiago diocese a few years ago by Pérez Serantes for unbecoming personal conduct."
- In a "quiet church counterattack" pro-Castro Father Ignacio Biain, editor of the Catholic **La Quincena**, "was sent on a vacation to Pinar del Río, from which he has not returned. A secret order went out to nuns, designed to expedite their sudden flight if necessary."

THE NEXT CRY: In the last item, **Time** was evidently readying its readers for the haggard cry of "raped nuns!" which follows every popular revolution. (In fact nuns continue their work in institutions here as before, except that now they are under lay authority in areas that concern the state.). Father Biain left **La Quincena** when asked to write against the revolution, with the comment that he "could quit writing but could not write lies." Moved to a post in Pinar del Rio cathedral, he was soon brought back to Havana after he offered a prayer for Castro (which his bishop approved). He is now in a Franciscan convent here.

A leading Catholic layman flatly told the GUARDIAN that Archbishop Pérez Serantes "is a Falangist, a warm admirer of Franco, who was born in the same Galician (Spanish) town, and the least Christian of all the hierarchy. He was never remotely 'for Castro' but on the contrary was an intimate of Capt. Fermin Cowley, Batista's top assassin in Holguin, who was caught and executed by the Revolution, and Col. Alberto Chaviano, torturer-in-chief of Oriente province, who escaped. The Archbishop's friends had hundreds of Cubans tortured and murdered for real or suspected opposition to the tyranny."

CATHOLIC PATRIOTS: This is the story of the "suddenly materializing" organization "With the Cross and With the Fatherland," whose watchword pinned on Catholic front-doors all across Cuba is: "Because we believe in God we support the Revolution." It was organized by Catholic patriots during the resistance to Batista, and brought a host of believers including 72 priests into the active struggle.

After the victory there was no more reason for it, as the bishops did not attack the initial reforms. Bishop Diaz of Havana (now Archbishop—and keeping mum) even praised the agrarian reform as "Christian," and naively urged "those who have lived in opulence and splendor" to "welcome" it. But last year when nationalization undermined the Church's richest income sources, and priests influenced by the Spanish and U.S. embassies began systematically distorting the revolution's aims, "With the Cross" was revived by the same Catholic group.

TORTURED 11 DAYS: Dr. José Antonio Pruna, director of "With the Cross," is a long-time Knight of Columbus whose father-in-law headed the K of C in Cuba. Dressed in militia uniform (his son is now with the militia rounding up counterrevolutionaries in the Escambray mountains), Pruna occupies a top job in the government concern operating nationalized U.S. insurance companies.

Before Batista's fall he was betrayed to the police and tortured three times a day for 11 days to give names of "With the Cross" underground workers; when the Revolution freed him, he was almost blind from head-beatings. He told the GUARDIAN that "With the Cross" was revived without even prompting from the government, and is financed by contributions from its 200,000-odd members. ("There is just no need for it to get government financing," other Catholic sources agreed.)

"We pro-government Catholics," said Dr. Pruna, "understand very well that the object of the hierarchy—coming from the U.S. State Dept.—is to produce a clash between Church and state. We also know that the Cuban revolution's deeds are Christian, and that the hierarchy's intentions are basically and in form materialistic — anti-Christian because they are trying to start a civil conflict between brothers."

"UNBECOMING" CONDUCT: Father Lence, whose speeches under "With the Cross" auspices have made him one of Cuba's most beloved public figures, was "suspended" last fail (forbidden to say Mass or hear confessions) for defying the hierarchy. The "unbecoming conduct" for which the Archbishop of Santiago expelled him from his parish during the Batista period was his active Cuban patriotism. (He was luckier than a Grand Knight of Columbus in his parish, who was murdered by Batista's goons for suspected opposition.) His subsequent appointment to a Havana parish attached to a nuns' hospital indicates how "unbecoming" his conduct really was in the sense implied.

According to Pruna, about 40 other priests now "quietly" support "With the Cross," though they are not members. They are compelled to read out the counterrevolutionary Pastorals in their churches, but "the people understand all about that" and their real sympathies are well known—even to the bishops. So far the hierarchy has not moved beyond threats of excommunicating ardently Fidelista Catholics and the disciplining of Lence. Even Father Sardiñas, who joined Castro back in Sierra Maestra days and now as chief army chaplain wears an olive-green cassock with major's shoulder-stars, remains "in good standing."

THE RICH SILENCE: Typical points in recent Lence speeches:

- "Christ came to minister to the poor—I rejoice in my proletarian origin."
- The authors of counterrevolutionary Pastorals "shared the table of the tyrant Batista and received money stolen by his assassins."
- "As any reading of the Bible will show, when Christianity talks of private property rights it falls back into Roman paganism. He who is a good Catholic is a good revolutionary."

FATHER GERMAN LENCE
"Christianity is left-wing"

Lence constantly goads the hierarchy, "which 'speaks out' against the revolution," for its silences that "smell of dollars" concerning Batista's crimes, the current bomb attacks on women and children, the murder of Lumumba, etc. Catholic laymen take up the cry, angrily demanding to know when race hatred and war preparations will be condemned in Pastorals; why the Church never organized any anti-illiteracy campaign, but left it to those it denounces as "communists"; how long it will continue to shower benedictions on "Franco's anti-Christian regime" while in the same breath advocating "the cult of truth." One such protest, recently read over the radio, came from a doctor in Havana with a Jesuit brother, a nun sister, and a deceased aunt who is now in process of being canonized as Cuba's first "saint."

HIS CALLING CARD: Last month at a rural meeting a counterrevolutionary struck Lence from behind with a bottle (and was beaten to near-pulp by the people before police could reach him). Both Lence and Pruna receive many death threats, and a week later a bomb exploded in Pruna's house. In a speech next day he thus addressed the perpetrators: "I was out and you knew I was out and that women and children were in the house. You know where I live—now I will tell you the address where I work. I am at your disposition."

"It is established beyond any doubt," Pruna told the GUARDIAN, "that priests are helping to make bombs; one was caught setting one. Dynamite and arms from the U.S. are being concealed in churches and Catholic schools. The bomb in the Havana church last December, which the U.S. press made much of, was proved to have been set off by the parish priest himself: the doors were closed at the time, he was the only person inside the church, and it was **not** a time-bomb. Several such priests are known to the authorities but none has been arrested. The point of these murderous provocations is that the hierarchy need a martyr and are getting desperate because they don't have one."

VIRGIN OF EL COBRE: How do the left-wing Catholics expect the struggle with their own hierarchy to end? Said Lence: "Christianity is left-wing." Said Pruna: "We are neither leftist nor rightists but Cubans who love our Church and our Revolution. We are for what is just. We have no great hopes of most of the high churchmen changing their conduct. History is witness that they are very proud—although they preach humility very few practice it. We aspire to have in Cuba a clergy that doesn't deny Christ in its actions, that sets a good example; but whatever happens, we are and will always be Roman Catholics."

"How can that come about?" I asked, "since the Church gives you no say in choosing those who lead it? Do you believe the present leaders, who are resorting to violence against what you regard as Christianity, can reach an understanding with such a revolution; if so, how and when?"

"We trust," said Dr. Pruna, "that our Patron, the Virgin of Charity of El Cobre, will arrange everything . . ." And linking arms with the gray-haired, rubicund Father Lence, he hurried away to a mass meeting of Catholic patriots.

God and the Cuban revolution

SOME LISTENERS to a recent address by Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro urged him to say something about the activities of the priests.

"Let's leave it for another day," he said. "If I get started on that I won't finish tonight."

The crowd set up a chant: "Fidel, Fidel, let the priests cut cane—if they won't cut cane let them get back to Spain."

Turning to the virtues and pleasures of week-end volunteer sugarcane cutting, Fidel said: "There should be implanted here the Leninist principle, 'He who doesn't work doesn't eat.' That is the key to the counterrevolutionary problem: the number of people who want to eat without working." Further cries of "The priests!" persisted from the audience.

"Now they're going to say you are rousing our base passions, since we didn't want to discuss that and you keep insisting," Fidel commented. "Here we have many people who believe in God, who believe in many other things, but very few who believe in priests."

THOUGHTS NOW TURN TO MAN IN SPACE

Soviet press tells how the Venus-shot was made

By W. G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

AS THE VENUS-BOUND space capsule rushes to its rendezvous on May 19-20, the Soviet press has released considerable information about how this feat of astronautics is organized; what is expected from Venus, and what some of the leading Soviet space specialists are thinking about these days.

On its present trajectory the capsule will approach to within less than 60,000 miles from Venus—providing our present knowledge of the distance between earth and sun is correct. (And if it is not correct, it soon will be as the Venus capsule reports back every five days the readings of its cosmic speedometer.)

As it approaches Venus, an umbrella-like antenna with a span of over six feet will be unfolded and pointed towards the earth, each of its "ribs" transmitting back the secrets of those cloud shrouded mysteries which have baffled astronomers for centuries. It is a very special sort of paraboloid antenna capable of transmitting vast quantities of information with signals clear enough to be picked up some 43,000,000 miles away.

NEW SPACE CENTER: The ground set-up the Russians now have has supplanted Britain's Jodrell Bank radio-astronomical station, regarded as by far the most powerful in the world. It has always been called in to track Soviet and American interplanetary probes but this time it is not required.

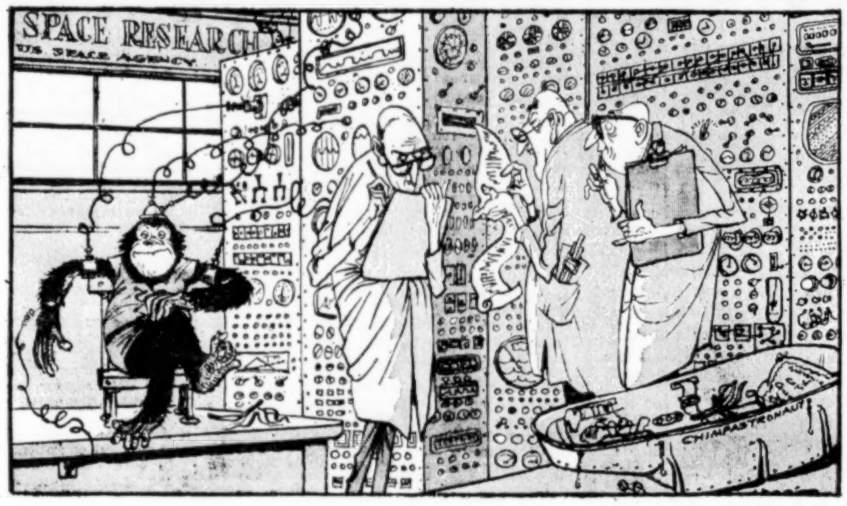
After the first two weeks of the Venus flight, **Pravda** revealed the existence of a Distant Space Radio Center which can "pick up radio signals from tremendous distances, with antennas that can be trained at any point of the celestial sphere with an accuracy of several angular minutes. Training programs are introduced automatically into the electronic computer controlling the antennas."

Pravda said an "automatic measuring radio-technical system" had been created "to control the interplanetary station, shape its orbit and carry on two-way communications with it at distances of hundreds of millions of kilometers." (Which sounds as if the Russians hope to continue contact long after the capsule makes its Venus approach at a mere 70,000,000 kilometers.)

Lancaster, London Express

"The Venus rocket is a truly magnificent achievement, and we can only hope, dear Lady Littlechampton, that the choice of planet does not give rise to too many jokes in questionable taste!"

HAIRBREADTH ACCURACY: Measurements from all ground stations are fed automatically into a Coordinating Computer Center where "the trajectory measurements are processed and high-speed electronic computers forecast the station's movement and calculate the antenna training program."



The Vancouver Sun

"... nice .... place ... to .... visit .... but .... he .... would .... not ... want .... to .... live .... there ...."

One of the most astonishing things is the degree of control the Russians have over their space vehicles — something which seems to have taken many of the Western experts by surprise.

The degree of millionth - hairbreadth accuracy involved in launching and orbiting is so enormous that it is almost impossible to avoid a fractional error. A one-minute mistake in the time of launching; a velocity mistake of one meter per second at a speed of 11,000 meters per second; a velocity-direction mistake of 0.1 degree would lead to an error of at least 60,000 miles by the time the capsule reached Venus.

This is a major reason why the carrier rocket which released the capsule was fired from a heavy sputnik in orbit. Any errors which had accumulated in putting the original sputnik into orbit could be corrected by ground command and also by its own programming system. The signal to fire the carrier-rocket could be given from the ground at the precise moment in time and space necessary to start the carrier rocket on to the Venus trajectory. The orbiting sputnik provided a far steadier and more accurate launching platform than a ground platform could have done.

GROTESQUE SHAPE: Even after the capsule was put on its Venus trajectory, scientists provided for "the possibility of minor corrections by means of special devices during the flight to the planet." Referring to the built-in orientation system, **Pravda** mentions among its functions: "ensuring any required turn of the station in space and stabilization of the station in flight." The fact that corrections can be made seems to indicate that the capsule may get much closer to Venus than the minimum 60,000 miles computed from its present trajectory.

As it emerged from the nose of its carrier rocket, the Venus capsule was a bulbous-nosed cylinder about six feet long by three feet at its widest diameter. It soon lost its symmetrical shape as wing-like panels of solar batteries emerged, and three cross-tipped mast antennas for "short" and "medium" range radio communications unfolded to complete a grotesque picture which must delight science-fiction illustrators.

All the apparatus on board can be controlled from the ground and by program devices aboard. While the capsule was within 60,000 miles of the earth two-way communications were handled by ground stations and electronically - equipped ships at sea. After that the Distant Space Radio Center took over. Apart from monitoring information, it gives commands to switch on and off the separate banks of batteries and other instruments; sets and varies the speed of transmitting information; adjusts the heat regime if necessary, and so on. **Pravda** continues: "For the remoter section of the interplanetary station's orbit, all instruments function according to a special program determining the length and regularity of communication sessions and working regimes."

The orientation system prevented any tumbling or free rotation imparted to the capsule when it was separated from the carrier rocket; it is responsible for keeping the solar batteries always turned towards the sun and at the critical moment of the approach to Venus has to ensure that when the "umbrella" aerial is lowered, it will be pointed towards the earth.

MURKY WORLD: As to what will be reported back, the guess of well-known Soviet astronomer Prof. I. Shklovsky is "a murky world of red-hot rock, no water, a dense atmosphere of carbon dioxide and eternal clouds completely blocking the view of sun and stars. Certainly not at all the joyous picture the poet would have us believe." Most Soviet scientists agree with the findings of their American colleagues that the temperature of parts of Venus' surface are about 580° F. and that any possibility of life is excluded.

But the Venus probe is but the glorious "first" of a whole series which will eventually take Soviet astronauts to other more promising planets. Now that the art of launching a space ship from a mother-ship orbiting the earth has been mastered, carrier rockets can be fired to any point in the solar system with superb accuracy.

Naturally thoughts are turned to manned flight what with the Venus shot and the brilliant success of the orbiting and return of a five-ton spaceship with a dog aboard announced on March 9. I was assured by the Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, Academician Evgeniye Fyodorov, that a man would not be put into space until it was certain not only that he would be recovered safe and sound but that he would continue to live safe and sound. One thing on which all the space scientists are agreed is that man will not be a pilot, but a passenger and observer in space flights; decisions about the flight itself and even his own welfare will be made on the ground or by program devices abroad.

ROLE OF DISCOVERER: At 25,000 miles an hour—writes engineer I. Gutchin in **Literature and Life**—a man's brain "would not be able to handle the incoming stream of information about the rapidly changing environment . . . Manned spaceships will be controlled automatically from take-off to landing, including the computation of trajectories, maneuvering through radiation belts or meteor showers and a watch on the condition of the crew." But he says man will still have the principal role: "That of the pioneer in the space wilderness, the discoverer of new laws of nature."

Engineer Gutchin reproaches those who feel that cybernetics and brain-machines are going to take over more and more mental functions — not only in space flight. "We don't say the computer is cleverer than man. Rather, man equipped with the computer is cleverer than without it, just as man equipped with a blooming mill is stronger than relying on his fists. While we take the latter for granted, we are still unaccustomed to the former."

He reports that machines have been developed "which simulate the development and decay of conditioned reflexes, accumulate knowledge and evaluate the environment, are capable of simulating the process of learning, changes in structures, metabolism, growth and propagation, able to ask questions, put forward criticism, reduce experimental data, advance hypotheses and even simulate emotions . . . It is fundamentally possible to create automatic machines simulating the behavior of man.

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SERRANO

Serrano, Wall St. Journal

"What's all this? I thought we had computer machines."

"Of direct practical interest to astronautics," continues Gutchin, "are self-programming systems which can draw upon their own experience and adjust themselves to the changing situation so as to achieve the goal set by man in the best way . . . Self-learning systems when sent to space will be able not only to follow a pre-set program but to help the astronaut to discover new laws of nature, to get to know extra-terrestrial life and to take correct decisions under the unusual conditions of other planets . . ."

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BOOKS

Last of the Just

ACCORDING TO an old-Talmudic tradition, the world's existence depends upon 36 Just Men, the Lamed-waf. These Just do not distinguish themselves from the rest of men. Sometimes, they themselves are unaware of their unique character. But they are the heart of the world. The suffering of mankind is poured into them as into a receptacle, and if only one were missing in the world, this suffering would poison even the souls of little children, and humanity would choke with grief.

An ancient legend asserts that God promised the "very gentle and luminous Rabbi Yom Tov Levy," who with his own hands killed 250 faithful threatened with conversion-or-death by the Bishop of York, in 1185, that in every generation of his descendants there would be one Just.

The Just of the Levy family, from the English Middle Ages to the 20th century extermination camps, are the subject of André Schwarz-Bart's Goncourt Prize Novel, **The Last of the Just.***

THERE ARE HEARTY and refreshing pages in it—for example the biblically beautiful story of the courtship of Mordechai Levy and his bride Judith—that will come as a revelation to those unfamiliar with Jewish ghetto life in a Polish village at the end of the last century. These passages are like the scherzo movement in a desperately tragic symphony. The awareness of the stricken hero of the symphony, Mordechai's grandson, Ernie Levy, the "Last of the Just," begins with Hitlerism and ends in an Auschwitz gas chamber.

The rise of Nazism and the innumerable crimes and tragedies that followed in its wake occupy a large part of the novel, but there is little political penetration in it. It is essentially a tale of suffering, and the mystical, unquestioning acceptance of that suffering, as a privilege granted to the Just.

The Just Ernie Levy is not invested with any particular virtue or holiness. He shares the fears and instincts of other men, the natural wish to flee adversity and seek happiness. What sets him apart from others is a sharpened sensitivity and the ability to plumb the depths of the human soul with limitless pity.

ERNIE'S FATHER Benjamin, a small insignificant man, has emigrated to Germany from his native Poland after the World War I pogroms, settled as a tailor in a small Rhineland town, brought his parents Mordechai and Judith there, married, and had children.

The passion of Ernie Levy begins at the age of 11, when some of his classmates, play-acting the crucifixion, cast him in the role of the Jew, and very nearly torture him to death. A little later, Ernie walks forward alone out of a group of Saturday morning worshippers in the synagogue courtyard against a horde of attacking Nazis. That day grandfather Mordechai first tells the child about the particular vocation of the family, and how the last Levy Just died back in his Polish village three years before without naming his successor.

That same night, Ernie holds a burning match to the palm of his hand: in his childish way, he wants to train himself to become a Just by becoming insensible to pain.

The child Ernie remains an ordinary youngster, except that he is at once more vulnerable and stronger. Because he is more vulnerable, he plunges so deep into despair that he tries to open his veins, throws himself out of a window, and loses his mind temporarily as Hitlerism proceeds on its atrocious road. But even when he tries to shake off his fate as one of the Just, he has no power to do so for long. From an almost carefree life in "free" Southern France, he returns to occupied Paris.

BECAUSE he is stronger, he has the will to enter voluntarily the Drancy transit camp where Golda, the girl he has barely had time to love, and tens of thousands of other Jews await deportation. He has the strength to comfort the sick, the desperate and the dying, down to the last agonizing, de-humanizing trip in the sealed cattle train that takes the Jews by the thousands to their final "unknown destination."

Ernie is lying on the floor of the cattle car: "His head on Golda's knees, he emerged from his glacial torpor, and thought that the soul must be woven of nothingness if it was to bear, without breaking, the trials God reserves for men of flesh and blood."

He consoles a dying 12-year-old child with a tale of light, warmth and human kindness. Do not believe what you see and hear in this train, none of it is true, he counsels the boy and the other terror-stricken children around him. Think of the kingdom of Israel that awaits us at the end of this trip; you will no longer be cold, no one will hurt you any more, suffering will vanish forever . . .

When the child on his knees has died, an elderly woman doctor next to him reproaches him furiously:

"How can you tell them it's only a dream?" she breathed, hate in her voice.

"Rocking the child mechanically, Ernie gave way to dry sobs. 'Madame,' he said finally, 'there is no room for truth here.' " Then he stopped rocking the child, turned and saw that the old woman's face had altered.

" 'Then what is there room for?' she began. And taking a closer look at Ernie, registering every detail of his face, she murmured softly, 'Then you don't believe what you're saying at all? Not at all?' "

WE NEED NOT ASK André Schwarz-Bart whether he sees suffering as the only way of countering injustice and crime. He has recently given concrete proof to the contrary. He was one of the signers of the Manifesto supporting the right to military disobedience in the Algerian war.

His story, told with an extraordinary poetic elevation for one so largely written with the life-blood of personal experience, must be placed on a different level. As a memorial to six million innocent victims of barbarism, **The Last of the Just** takes its place among the epic accounts of the great holocausts of all times. For some of the survivors, myth and legend are perhaps the only means to grasp and to face an unimaginable tragedy.

—**Anne Bauer**

**THE LAST OF THE JUST, by André Schwarz-Bart. Atheneum, 374 pp. $4.95.*

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THEORY OF FILM

Movies as a form of art

SIEGFRIED KRACAUER, author of **Theory of Film,*** is a former editor and critic for the **Frankfurter Zeitung,** which, before the advent of Hitler, was one of the most distinguished of European newspapers. When the Nazis came to power, he took refuge in the U.S. and served as an analyst of Nazi propaganda films for the War Dept. In 1946 he published an excellent psychological history of the German film, **From Caligari to Hitler.** In it he dissected the national characteristics of the German cinema between World War I and the triumph of Hitlerism, and analyzed the forces of social change as they were reflected in the films of that period.

In **Theory of Film** Dr. Kracauer discusses the meaning and esthetics of cinema rather than film as a manifestation of historical circumstance. It is an important book for practical film workers and laymen alike. Its theoretical structure is based on the fact that the film has evolved from "still photography" with its unique ability to record "visible phenomena for their own sake." All the technical innovations, changes in design of equipment, in modes of expression and production methods have been directed toward emancipating the "peculiar properties of the medium" from its static beginnings which fulfilled the demands of the mushroom nickelodeon theaters.

THE FILM as an art, contends Dr. Kracauer, concerns itself with the physical reality of life, a reality which most of us take so much for granted that we cease to observe it. The eye of the film artist absorbs and consumes the raw material of life in its entirety. In this respect he is different from his confreres in the older arts of literature, music, painting and dance.

The "fine" artist molds reality according to his personal vision whereas the film artist, according to the author, lays bare the visual, and now audible, elements of life like "an explorer prodded by insatiable curiosity." Even when the film maker wants his audience to take some special moral view of a situation, he does so by "reading the book of nature," exploring the world of the street, the sensitive human face with its infinite visual possibilities, and in the deepest sense getting "beneath the superstructure of specific story content."

Kracauer makes no bones about his preference for the so-called "found" or episodic story as distinguished from the traditional theatrical film story, often based upon a pre-existing novel or play, and from the California product in which gratuitous violence or imposed happy endings take the place of a fresh vision focused on everyday life and the experiences of ordinary people. He is a partisan of such films as de Sica's **Bicycle Thief** and **Umberto D** and Rossellini's **Open City** and **Paisan** in which non-professionals, people off the street, may play important acting roles.

A SCENE FROM DE SICA'S BICYCLE THIEF

A film should see reality with all its contradictions

PASSING OVER the majority of the films produced in Hollywood from the mid-Twenties through the war years, Kracauer selects for special praise the independent work of Robert Flaherty, known as "the father of the documentary" or fact film (**Nanook, Moana, Louisiana Story**).

He finds John Ford's adaptation of Steinbeck's **Grapes of Wrath** to have been another major contribution to the realistic film, particularly because of its attention to action "in human groups rather than individuals." He exempts this novel from his general distaste for the literary story as a source for cinema because of its emphasis on "collective misery, collective fears and hopes," and because it recorded and explored the physical realities of the life of the migratory workers and the abuses to which they were subjected.

He also cites Orson Welles' **Citizen Kane,** an original film script brilliantly realized for the screen by its author in a form that combined creative topical "newsreelism" with old-fashioned film story-telling.

PERHAPS the author's disapproval of the literary story photographed in artificial settings in the motion picture studio arises from his association of such products with the formula film of the "happy exceptional," in other words with the commercialization of the industry. It seems so, because he is not entirely consistent in his preference for the "everyday obvious."

Occasionally he abandons his argument, as when he enthuses over the Swedish director Ingmar Bergman's **The Seventh Seal.** He admits in this case that the director has been able to make a semi-realistic socially critical film out of a theatrically conceived tale with a touch of the medieval miracle play.

Actually, he is against the well-made film with the predictable conclusion. He believes that a film should reflect not physical reality alone, but reality with all its underlying contradictions. In its ability to focus directly on those elementary characteristics which men have in common, "as common as birth or death, or a smile," the photographic art of the cinema is uniquely gifted among the arts to reveal modern man to himself.

—Jules Schwerin

**THEORY OF FILM, by Siegfried Kracauer. Oxford University Press. 364 pp. $10.*

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The Laos crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

and not war." It added:

"They want to solve the problem in a conference and not on the battlefields. That is what the Soviet Union wants."

On the day the **Pravda** article appeared, President Kennedy and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko met for an hour in Washington, Gromyko afterward told reporters that both he and the President were hopeful of finding a way "for settling the question of Laos peacefully." Speaking for the President, White House press secretary Pierre Salinger said Kennedy "continued to be hopeful" of obtaining "a cessation of hostilities and the development of a neutral and independent Laos."

PROBLEMS AHEAD: Despite this new development, peace in Laos in the near future remained problematic. Washington has given no indication that it recognizes the different conditions under which peace negotiations must take place today. Militarily and diplomatically, U.S. reaction to the defeats being steadily inflicted by the Pathet Lao on pro-U.S. Gen. Nosavan's forces seemed to follow the same cold war path worn by the late John Foster Dulles.

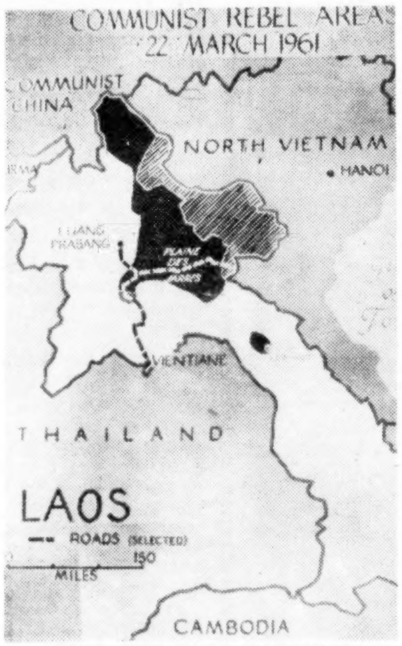
To bolster Nosavan's forces, Washington convened SEATO March 27 to plan military strategy in Laos and obtained Thailand's approval for U.S. military moves on its territory. By March 25, a U.S. naval task force with a 1,500-man Marine battalion was cruising close to Thailand. Supply installations were being built up there.

The 50 combat ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet—including the carriers Midway, Bennington and Lexington, and 75 auxiliaries manned by about 60,000 men—were proceeding toward Southeast Asia. The entire U.S. Pacific Fleet of 400 ships, supported by 3,400 planes, and U.S. forces in Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines, Hawaii and Taiwan were alerted. The New York **Times** reported (March 25):

"In Japan 2,000 Marines who were being used as extras in a Hollywood movie entitled 'Marines, Let's Go!' have suddenly gone."

COLD WAR LINE: Although there were hopeful words in it. President Kennedy's statement on Laos at his March 23 press conference was marked by inaccuracies based on cold war premises

Kennedy urged a cease-fire followed by "constructive negotiations among the nations concerned and among the leaders of Laos which can help Laos back to the pathway of independence and genuine neutrality." But his telescoping of events in Laos since 1954 and his insistence on his proposals being accepted in their entirety carried ominous overtones of "brink-of-war" policy.



THIS WAS LAOS MARCH 22
President's map used at his March 23 press conference shows area under Pathet Lao control last year (shaded); black area shows advance since.

The President was hardly expected to rehash the sorry record in Laos of his predecessor. He went as far as to say this:

"If in the past there has been any possible ground for misunderstanding of our desire for a truly neutral Laos, there should be none now."

But he then presented the U.S. as having always been an innocent bystander in the troubles of Laos; attributed the Laotian tragedy to "armed attacks by externally supported Communists," and threatened reprisals by both U.S. and SEATO if "these attacks do not stop." If Kennedy was attempting to create a favorable public atmosphere for a reversal of Dulles' policy, his method was devious indeed.

ABREVIATED RECORD: Kennedy straddled the history of Laos in the last seven years by saying that "the efforts of a Communist-dominated group to destroy" Laos' neutrality as prescribed by the 1954 Geneva conference culminated in the last half of 1960 in a "greatly intensified military effort to take over" power. He implied that the U.S. has always favored a neutral Laos. But this simply is not so.

Washington never signed the Geneva agreement, which resulted from the 14-power talks, nor did it accept Laos' neutrality. It placed Laos within SEATO's military jurisdiction. Six years ago the U.S. began sending in money and arms and American military instructors for the Royal Laotian army, which had collaborated with the Japanese in World War II. The Geneva agreement had called for the election of a national government which would include the Pathet Lao, led by Prince Souphanouvong, which had fought the Japanese and the French for liberation. But when it appeared in 1958 that in such an election the Pathet Lao would emerge victorious, the U.S. provoked a military coup, which overthrew the government headed by Premier Souvanna Phouma, half-brother of Souphanouvong. Phouma was forced to resign.

THE WINDFALL: The parliament was dissolved in January, 1959. The new pro-U.S. government arrested Pathet Lao leaders, including Souphanouvong. Pathet Lao troops fled to the north. Souphanouvong escaped the following year, joined the Pathet Lao and began regrouping its forces.

In 1955 the U.S. began pouring in astronomical amounts of dollars, which went into the pockets of corrupt officials, crooked contractors and currency speculators. The Laotian people remained as poor as ever, with an average income of less than $50 a year. Last year, there were only 2,000 high school students, and 85% of the 2,000,000 people were illiterate.

In this intolerable situation, Capt. Kong Le and his paratroopers of the Royal Laotian army rebelled. They restored Phouma as Premier. Phouma was on the point of reaching an agreement with the Pathet Lao and had obtained the King's approval of a coalition government. Once again the U.S. intervened.

ENTER BOUN OUM: With U.S. assistance Gen. Nosavan overthrew the Phouma regime. Phouma and his Cabinet fled to Cambodia. The U.S. immediately recognized the Nosavan government nominally headed by playboy Prince Boun Oum. The Pathet Lao adopted the only alternative it had: it began advancing from the north and soon was in control of three northern Laotian provinces.

All during this time, Moscow has been urging the restoration of a coalition government in Laos through negotiation. The U.S. resisted until it saw that the Royal Laotian army showed less and less inclination to fight against the Pathet Lao and that an eventual Pathet Lao military victory seemed assured.

NEEDED — A PROGRAM: Washington seems still unwilling to accept the changed circumstances under which new negotiations for establishing a neutral government in Laos will have to be conducted. The Pathet Lao is stronger today, the Royal Laotian army is weaker. A coalition which includes Nosavan and Boun Oum would be unstable, since they thrive only in an atmosphere of East-West conflict. Besides, a Laotian government which is not only neutral but also stable must have a program of raising the standard of living of the Laotian people.

In Kennedy's statement there was not a word about the condition of the Laotian people. The York (Pa.) **Gazette & Daily** said editorially (March 25):

"Notice how in all that is said about Laos how little is said of the Laotian people, of their conditions, needs, rights and so forth."

An Associated Press report (March 24) quoted an American in Laos as saying that he "would have tried, somehow, to reach the little people instead of the big families"; another American wondered why in every country into which he went "the other side seems to have the will to fight while we do not." To this a third American answered:

"We came here to help out. We brought money and goods with us. We were determined to be generous. But we gave the money and the goods to the military program. We neglected the economic side. and the money we did give to help the country economically went into the pockets of the rich and corrupt."

NO SHIFT IN POLICY: There was little indication that Washington has learned this lesson. At the March 23 press conference a correspondent asked: "Mr. President, could you tell us. sir, what in your opinion this country has obtained out of its roughly $310,000,000 worth of aid . . . to Laos?"

The President replied: "Well, Laos is not yet a Communist country and it's my hope that it will not be."

The President's reply was in keeping with the Dulles policy. The York **Gazette & Daily** editorial underscored the danger:

"The world will not be safe, in our opinion, until the Kennedy Administration repudiates this policy and abandons it altogether."

O'Casey sends greetings for Jessica Smith's 25th

SEAN O'CASEY has sent this message to Jessica Smith in connection with the dinner April 13 honoring her 25 years as editor of **New World Review** and its predessor, **Soviet Russia Today:**

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THE GALLERY

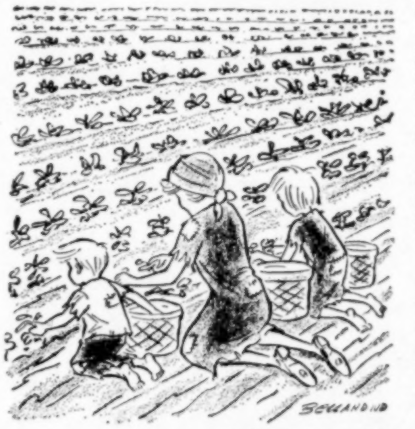
THIS IS THE NEWS Edward R. Murrow made in his first week as director of the U.S. Information Agency: He made a fool of himself and of his agency.

It was revealed on March 22, the day after Murrow was sworn into office, that he had tried and failed to persuade the British Broadcasting Corp. not to show a documentary film on the plight of migrant workers which Murrow had produced and narrated for CBS. Murrow had argued that the film was designed "solely for domestic presentation."

The news brought heavy fire on Murrow, particularly from those who had hailed his radio and television work. The American Civil Liberties Union accused him of "attempted official censorship." New York **Times** television editor Jack Gould said that if Murrow acted on State Dept. orders, "he should have resigned after 24 hours in office rather than concur in an incredible intrusion on the free informational medium of an ally."

New York **Post** columnist Murray Kempton wrote: "The ultimate loyalty oath is the one rendered by a man who can promise to suppress himself for the sake of his country's good name."

In the end Murrow admitted that his effort had been "both foolish and futile." Murrow looked particularly foolish in light of his brave words on taking office. He said that whatever the USIA did would "have to stand on a rugged basis of truth."



Belland, IUD Bulletin
"The Affluent Society"

THE STORY MIGHT WELL be ended with Murrow's admission of foolishness, to be filed with the other public disclosures of goofs by Washington bureaucrats. But in 25 years on radio and television, Murrow ran up an unequalled record for honest and imaginative reporting, while competitors were content to offer pap. That Murrow should have been caught in the maid's room is perhaps explained by his unfamiliarity with his new abode and by his ambitions. But that he should have been subject to such pressures which led to his dalliance raises the time-honored question of the good apple in the rotten barrel.

The documentary in question, **Harvest of Shame,** was one of Murrow's best. In his understated, clipped style it unfolded the plight of those who follow the crops. It pointed out that the average income of a migrant worker is $1,000 a year. The migrant's children are two years behind their normal grade in school. In the narration Murrow said: "There is no case upon the record of a child of a migrant laborer ever receiving a college diploma."

The film also pointed out that Congress had appropriated $6,500,000 to preserve migrant bird life while it budgeted $3,500,000 for education of migrant workers' children.

THE FILM WAS attacked violently by the American Farm Bureau Fedn., one of the nation's more reactionary lobbies. Some in Congress called it slander and a distortion. But CBS and Murrow held firm. Only a week before the BBC incident Murrow told a Senate committee: "We have an open pluralistic society where we cannot conceal our difficulties or our own controversies even if we would."

Sen. Spessard L. Holland (D-Fla.) led the attack on the film and he was apparently responsible for much of the later pressure on Murrow. In the Senate, Holland charged that the film played "fast and loose" with the truth. Since many of the migrants shown are Negroes, he said, the film fits "easily into the false picture of the position of Negroes in American society which our nation's enemies are bending every effort to create throughout the world."

He "refuted" the film with the names of 11 children of migrant laborers who had college degrees. He claimed that more than 100 migrant families in Belle Glade, Fla., own their own homes.

News of Murrow's call to the BBC came from Holland. He said that earlier Murrow had called him twice to say that he deplored and resented the sale of the film to the BBC; that he was "deeply distressed" by it; and that he considered CBS "wholly irresponsible." A Murrow aide confirmed that Holland's version of the conversations was "roughly right as reported."

Whatever propaganda value the overseas showing of **Harvest of Shame** had for "our nation's enemies," it was nothing compared to the absurd image of Official Murrow trying to censor Citizen Murrow. Gould offered Murrow the word for the day: "It is not the function of a government official to act as censor of material gathered independently by an established branch of free contemporary journalism."

Good night and good luck, Mr. Murrow.

—Robert E. Light

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with Orchestra conducted by
Pierre de la Roche

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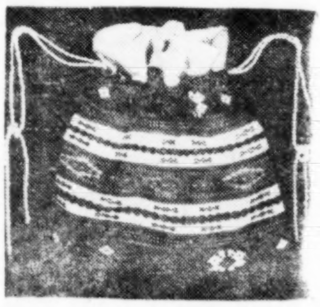

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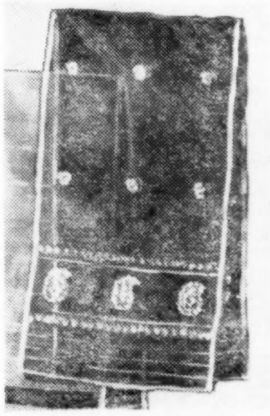

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

The return of man

Fritz Pappenheim's book, **The Alienation of Modern Man** (Monthly Review Press, 333 Sixth Ave., New York 14. $4.), is being published this month in a Latin American edition. For this edition, Pappenheim has written a new introduction. A major excerpt appears below.

> *If conditions make the human being, we ought to make the conditions human.* —Karl Marx, **The Holy Family**

A LITTLE MORE THAN A YEAR has gone by since this book was published in the United States. During this period I have been asked by many people in discussions and in letters how we can, if not overcome at least reduce the forces of alienation, how man who is estranged from himself and from other people can recapture his identity and bridge the gulf which separates him from his fellow man.

I consider this problem to be urgent and grave and I have little confidence in the facile remedies which are often proposed to meet it. The solution I see and which I have tried to present in the last chapter of my book is somewhat alarming to many of those who have wanted to know my opinion about the problem.

It is based on the idea which Marx developed in **The Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts** of 1844, that there is a deep and intimate relationship between the alienation of man from himself and his alienation from other men and that the two forms of alienation represent merely two different aspects of the same process. If this is true then it seems to me that one cannot cope with the two forms of alienation separately.

THE ADOLESCENT BOY who deliberately aspires toward the development of his personality, who performs systematic exercises to acquire a unique handwriting or style, who shuns the circle of his contemporaries and withdraws into solitude where he can contemplate himself in the mirror of his soul and become absorbed by the fascinating study of his inner life, will not necessarily succeed in forming a strong individuality. It is more likely that the young man who stops being concerned about a subjective analysis of himself and joins his fellows to help them carry out the pressing work of the everyday world will, as Goethe has shown in **Wilhelm Meister**, be the one who develops a strong and positive personality.

The man who wants to free himself from alienation is in a similar position: it is not when he tries to attain the heights of introspection and introversion but when he actually participates—not only in thought but through practical action—in the plight of other human beings that he succeeds in returning to himself.

Perhaps I may give an illustration from the American movie **The Defiant Ones.** Two prisoners who are chained together, one white, the other Negro, both sentenced to many years at hard labor, escape one evening as their work-gang is returning to prison. Between them there is nothing but the deepest hatred and the chain which links them together in spite of violent fights. After horrible days of hunger, thirst, mutual loathing and despair, they arrive at a farm house where a woman gives them some food and—most important—tools with which they succeed in breaking the hated chain.

IN ORDER TO GET RID of the Negro, the woman indicates to him a path which supposedly goes to a railroad bridge where a train with boxcars passes daily. After the Negro has left the white man realizes that the woman has lied and given directions which do not lead to the railroad but to a swamp from which there is no exit. He knows that there is not a minute to lose and runs out of the house in order to find the Negro and to warn him of the danger. His action does not bring a "happy ending." Yet it has a deep significance.

This moment, when he tries to find the other man, when he is linked to him not by an iron chain but by a bond of solidarity and responsibility, is the moment when he who until now seemed as brutal as an animal returns to his human being, to himself.

What happens between the two prisoners, it is true, lasts only a few minutes. How can the individual come to grips with the forces of alienation not only when he is escaping, not only in fleeting and extraordinary moments but in his everyday life? To do this we must try, as Marx says in his work **The Holy Family**, not to concentrate primarily on the world of ideas but "to arrange the real world in such a way that man can experience there what is really human, can become used to experiencing himself as Man."

THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS PRINCIPLE has been understood by the masses in Latin American countries and the effort to implement it is, in my opinion, one of the decisive forces behind the socio-economic transformation which the Cuban people is now carrying out. Last summer when I visited Cuba many peasants showed me with real pride **their** cooperatives and **their** healthy homes which they have built with the help of their fellow members and in which their children can grow up not with fear of tomorrow but with a deep faith in the future.

These words reflect more than the simple satisfaction of people who at present live more comfortably than before; they reflect the serenity of men who are no longer used as tools to serve the ends of others but who belong to their community as they belong to their homes, who feel a deep identity between their lives and the goals of their society. Their new hope shone in the eyes of these men.

The work done by the cooperatives in Cuba has shown me that man can achieve a measure of triumph over the forces of alienation not just by ideological discussion, not by escaping into esoteric isolation, but by joining his efforts to those of his fellow men in building up the society of the future in which the individual will be part of his community.

—**Fritz Pappenheim**